

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 COPENH 02591 01 OF 02 031523Z

ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07 TRSE-00 OMB-01 AID-05 IO-13

COME-00 AGR-05 ACDA-07 DHA-02 /108 W

-----031725Z 110941 /46

R 031350Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4392

INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMAMEMBASSY MAPUTO 20

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMCONGEN CAPETOWN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USNATO 2123

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY DAR S SALAAM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 2591

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MZ, DA

SUBJ: MACHEL'S VISIT TO DENMARK

REF: (A) COPENHAGEN 2098 NOTAL (B) MAPUTO 426 NOTAL

(C) STOCKHOLM 1832 NOTAL

SUMMARY. ALTHOUGH THE ATMOSPHERICS OF THE VISIT WERE
REPORTEDLY EXCELLENT, THE DANES DON'T QUITE KNOW WHAT TO
MAKE OF MACHEL. THEY FOUND HIM DOGMATIC AND DOCTRINAIRE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 COPENH 02591 01 OF 02 031523Z

AND PERHAPS UNDERSTANDABLY PREOCCUPIED WITH "COLONIALISM".
AFTER A RELATIVELY BRIEF AND EASY DISCUSSION ABOUT DANISH
AID (THE VISITORS GOT COMMITMENTS FOR MORE), ALL TALK
FOCUSED ON SOUTHERN AFRICA WITH THE DANES MOSTLY LISTENING
AND WITH ZIMBABWE AS THE CENTERPIECE. SOMEWHAT CUR-
ISOULY, THERE WERE APPARENTLY NO PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS
ABOUT SOVIET OR CUBAN INFLUENCE, AND PRACTICALLY THE

ONLY REFERENCE TO THE "BIG PICTURE" WAS PRIME MINISTER JORGENSEN'S OPENING REMARKS WHICH PROVIDED ALMOST NO RESPONSE FROM MACHEL. END SUMMARY.

1. THE HEAD OF MFA'S THIRD POLITICAL OFFICE (EVERYTHING EXCEPT NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE) BENT HAAKONSEN, CALLED IN POL COUNS MAY 2 TO GIVE HIM A DETAILED READOUT OF MACHEL'S VISIT TO DENMARK APRIL 29 - MAY 2. (COMMENT: THE FACT THAT THE MFA TOOK THIS INITIATIVE BEFORE THEY PASSED ON THEIR REPORT TO THE NINE OR THE NORDICS COULD IMPLY THAT DANES WANT TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR USEFULNESS TO THE USG AS AN INTERLOCUTOR IN AFRICAN QUESTIONS. END COMMENT)

2. HAAKONSEN, WHO WAS CONTROL OFFICER FOR THE VISIT AND ACCOMPANIED THE VISITING MOZAMBIQUE DELEGATION TO ALL EVENTS EXCEPT MACHEL'S APPEARANCE AT A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MAY DAY RALLY, SAID THAT THE ATMOSPHERICS SURROUNDING THE VISIT WERE EXTREMELY GOOD. MACHEL REITERATED ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS MOZAMBIQUE'S APPRECIATION FOR THE SUPPORT GIVEN BY THE NORDICS TO FRELIMO DURING THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.

3. HAAKONSEN CONTINUED, HOWEVER, THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY REMAIN SOMEWHAT UNEASY IN THEIR INTERPRETATION OF WHAT MACHEL REALLY MEANT TO SAY ON ALL OCCASIONS. THIS IS CURIOUS, HAAKONSEN COMMENTED, BECAUSE MACHEL, WHILE NOT WITHOUT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 COPENH 02591 01 OF 02 031523Z

CHARM, CAME ACROSS AS "DOGMATIC AND DOCTRINAIRE" AND WAS UTTERLY PREOCCUPIED WITH COLONIALISM IN AFRICA. HAAKONSEN DID NOT USE THE WORD, BUT THE IMPLICATION WAS THAT MACHEL IMPRESSED THE DANES AS A DOCTRINAIRE "MARXIST". AND IT WAS DURING HIS VISIT HERE THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE THAT MACHEL WAS A RECIPIENT OF THE LENIN PEACE PRIZE.

4. THE DANES FOUND FOREIGN MINISTER CHISSANO AND SOME OTHER MEMBERS OF THE 45-STRONG VISITING MOZAMBIQUE GROUP MUCH MORE NUANCED THAN MACHEL. HAAKONSEN ALSO SAID THAT THEY FOUND ANGOLA'S NETO MORE OF A "REFLECTIVE INTELLECTUAL" THAN MACHEL WHO APPEARED TO BE A MILITARY LEADER STILL OBSESSED BY THE CRIES OF THE BATTLEFIELD. THE DANES ARE NOT SURE WHAT, IF ANY, IMPRESSION THEY MADE ON MACHEL HIMSELF. THEY CONTINUE TO BELIEVE HOWEVER THAT CONTACTS BETWEEN AFRICAN LEADERS LIKE HIM AND WESTERN LEADERS, PARTICULARLY THE NORDICS WITH THEIR SPECIAL CACHET, ARE

IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE WEST.

5. MACHEL WAS MET ON HIS ARRIVAL APRIL 29 BY QUEEN MARGRETHE, WENT TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY FOR A SHORT GENERAL DISCUSSION WITH PRIME MINISTER ANKER JORGENSEN AND FOREIGN MINISTER K B ANDERSEN BEFORE THE QUEEN'S LUNCH AND CONTINUED BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE DANISH LEADERS THAT AFTERNOON. ALTOGETHER, HAAKONSEN COMMENTED, THERE WERE ABOUT TWO HOURS AVAILABLE FOR THESE DISCUSSIONS BEFORE MACHEL'S SCHEDULED PRESS CONFERENCE AT 1700 HOURS THAT SAME DAY, JORGENSEN HOSTED A DINNER FOR HIM THAT EVENING AND ANDERSEN ONE THE FOLLOWING EVENING. HAAKONSEN OBSERVED THAT THIS WAS REALLY NOT MUCH TIME BECAUSE OF THE CUMBERSOME TRANSLATION PROCESS. IT ALSO WORKED OUT THAT THE DANES WERE NOT ABLE TO PURSUE AND QUESTION MACHEL'S STATEMENTS AS MUCH AS THEY WOULD HAVE LIKED. NOTHING WAS SAID, FOR EXAMPLE, ABOUT THE INFLUENCE AND ROLE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 COPENH 02591 01 OF 02 031523Z

IN MOZAMBIQUE OF THE SOVIETS OR CUBANS.

6. AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE, REPORTED SOMEWHAT DIFFERENTLY IN VARIOUS COPENHAGEN DAILIES, MACHEL BECAME ANNOYED WHEN ASKED WHETHER HE WOULD SEEK CUBAN SUPPORT IN DEFENSE AGAINST POSSIBLE ATTACK FROM RHODESIA. HE APPARENTLY REPLIED, "WHY DON'T YOU ASK WHEN DENMARK IS GOING TO SEND MILITARY FORCES TO MOZAMBIQUE?" ON THE BRITISH INITIATIVE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, MACHEL RESPONDED, "IF DR. OWEN'S EFFORTS ARE AIMED AT TURNING THE POWER IN ZIMBABWE OVER TO THE MAJORITY, WE WILL SUPPORT IT. OTHERWISE, NO."

7. SATURDAY, APRIL 30, HAAKONSEN ACCOMPANIED THE VISITING DELEGATION ON A SPECIAL TRAIN TO NAKSKOV ON THE ISLAND OF LOLLAND WHERE MACHEL VISITED A SHIPYARD AND A SUGAR BEET FACTORY. IN NAKSKOV, MACHEL MADE AN IMPROMPTU ADDRESS ABOUT COLONIALISM, FASCISM, THE FRIENDLY DANISH PEOPLE, ETC., TO A CURIOUS CROWD THAT HAD GATHERED.

8. ON SUNDAY, MACHEL, AS GUEST OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, MADE A BRIEF APPEARANCE AT THEIR MAY DAY RALLY IN COPENHAGEN. HIS SHORT EMOTIONAL SPEECH TRANSLATED FROM PORTUGUESE, WAS AGAINST COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM AND FASCISM, AND FOR THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS. IT PROVOKED LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FROM THE LARGELY PHLEGMATIC GATHERING. THE VISITORS LEFT EARLY MONDAY MORNING, MAY 2, FOR HELSINKI, THE LAST STOP ON MACHEL'S SCANDINAVIAN TOUR.

9. TURNING TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MACHEL VISIT,

HAAKONSEN SAID THAT IT WAS DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS:
DISCUSSIONS ABOUT DANISH AID TO MOZAMBIQUE AND
THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE
ASSISTANCE SIDE WAS, IN TURN, DIVIDED INTO THREE
PARTS: GRANTS, LOANS AND A POSSIBLE RESIDENT DANISH
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 COPENH 02591 01 OF 02 031523Z

AID MISSION IN MOZAMBIQUE:

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 COPENH 02591 02 OF 02 031556Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 AID-05 COME-00
AGR-05 IO-13 ACDA-07 DHA-02 /108 W
-----031725Z 111385 /46

R 031350Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4393
INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY KINSHSA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMCONGEN CAPETOWN
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USNATO 2124
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 2591

GRANTS - THE DDANES COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO DKR.
21 MILLION IN GRANTS FOR THE PERIOD 1 APRIL 1977 TO
1 APRIL 1978. (ABOUT \$3.5 MILLION: APPROX. 6 DKR.-

\$1.00). DKR. 10 MILLION OF THIS WILL BE USED FOR WHEAT PURCHASES. DKR 11 MILLION WILL BECOME PART OF A JOINT NORDIC AGRICULTURAL PROJECT IN MOZAMBIQUE WHICH STARTS UP 1 APRIL 1978 AND WILL AMOUNT TO US \$50 MILLION TO BE SPENT OVER A THREE-YEAR PERIOD. ALL FIVE NORDIC COUNTRIES WILL PARTICIPATE. THE PROJECTS HAVE NOT YET BEEN DEFINED.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 COPENH 02591 02 OF 02 031556Z

LOANS - DKR. 30 MILLION WAS COMMITTED. MOZAMBIQUE MUST NOW COME UP WITH FIRM PROJECT PROPOSALS. TO HELP THE MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT TO DEVELOP PROPOSALS, DANIDA (DANISH AID ORGANIZATION) MAY SEND AN EXPERT MISSION FROM DENMARK.

RESIDENT DANISH AID MISSION - THIS WAS DISCUSSED IN GENERAL TERMS. THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM WAS RECOGNIZED. IN ANY EVENT, THE MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT MUST NOW TELL THE DANES IN WHAT FIELDS SUCH A RESIDENT MISSION MIGHT WORK.

10. POLITICAL TALKS: PRIME MINISTER JORGENSEN LED OFF WITH A SET PIECE DESCRIBING DENMARK ITSELF AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NORDIC COUNCIL, THE EC, NATO AND THE UN. JORGENSEN EXPLAINED (HAAKONSEN SAID QUITE FORCEFULLY) WHY DENMARK IS A MEMBER OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS AND WHAT IT EXPECTS FROM THEM. JORGENSEN SAID THAT DENMARK'S MEMBERSHIP IN NATO WAS ESSENTIAL IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE COUNTRY'S SECURITY. NATO IS NOT ONLY, HOWEVER, A VEHICLE FOR MILITARY DEFENSE. IT IS ALSO ONE FOR THE DETENTE PROCESS. THE ONLY COMMENT THAT MACHIEL MADE IN THE NATO CONTEXT WAS THAT THE AFRICANS KNEW THAT THE DANES HAD HAD THE COURAGE TO OPPOSE CONTINUED PORTUGUESE RULE IN MOZAMBIQUE.

11. JORGENSEN ALSO STRONGLY REPEATED THE DANES' POSITION THAT THE UN MUST WORK IN A REALISTIC AND PRAGMATIC WAY. THE WORK OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES MUST NOT BE JEOPARDIZED BY THEIR POLITICALIZATION. MACHIEL HAD NO COMMENT.

12. FINALLY, THE DANES PUT FORWARD THEIR FAMILIAR VIEWS ON THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND STRESSED THAT PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS THERE MUST BE FOUND.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 COPENH 02591 02 OF 02 031556Z

13. MACHEL THEN LAUNCHED INTO HIS PRESENTATION:

- ZIMBABWE (HAAKSONSEN SAID THAT THIS QUESTION WAS OBVIOUSLY UPPERMOST IN MACHEL'S MIND.) BOTH THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND MOZAMBIQUE VIEW THE QUESTION ENTIRELY FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF DECOLONIZATION. MACHEL IS NOW SATISFIED THAT THE UK, AS THE COLONIAL POWER, IS PREPARED TO TAKE OVER RESPONSIBILITY FOR DECOLONIZATION BUT IT IS DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO SEE WHAT THE FINAL SOLUTION WILL BE. THE SMITH REGIME IS PATENTLY ILLEGAL BUT YET THE US AND THE UK HAVE CONTINUED CONTACT WITH SMITH. (HAAKSONSEN COMMENTED THAT THE DANES DIDN'T KNOW WHETHER MACHEL MEANT THAT THE US AND THE US SHOULD NOT HAVE THESE CONTACTS OR THWEHTER THEY SHOULD USE THESE CONTACTS TO FORCE OUT THE WHITE REGIME.)

14. IN RESPONSE TO FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSEN'S QUESTION, MACHEL SAID THAT BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTER OWEN CAME TO AFRICA WITH SOME IDEAS BUT NOT CONCRETE PROPOSALS. SUCH PROPOSALS ARE DUE AND MUST BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION MOVEMENT. IN DISCUSSING THE COMPOSITION OF THIS MOVEMENT, MACHEL SPOKE REPEATEDLY OF THE "ZIMBABWE PEOPLE" AND SAID THAT THEY WERE THE ONES WHO COUNTED, NOT INDIVIDUAL GROUPS.

15. MACHEL DESCRIBED THE WHITES WHO LIVED IN ZIMBABWE AS BEING "PRODUCTS OF COLONIALISM". AS THE DANES WERE DRAWING THE INFERENCE THAT HE MEANT TO SAY THAT THEY WERE CONSEQUENTLY EXPENDABLE, MACHEL CONTINUED THAT, OF COURSE, ATTEMPTS MUST BE MADE TO GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES. THIS WAS FURTHER CONFUSED IN THE MINDS OF THE DANES BY HIS THEN APPEARING TO DISCUSS MINORITIES IN ZIMBABWE IN THE CONTEXT OF BLACK MINORITIES WHO MIGHT NOT SUPPORT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT THAT EVENTUALLY "WINS".

16. THE KERNAL OF THE QUESTION IN ZIMBABWE IS NOT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 COPENH 02591 02 OF 02 031556Z

"MAJORITY RULE" NOR NATIONAL, OPEN-FRANCHISED ELECTIONS. IT IS THAT THE PEOPLE IN ZIMBABWE SHOULD HAVE THE POWER IN ZIMBABWE. (THE DANES DIDN'T FULLY FOLLOW THIS EITHER. "WE WANT TO ABOLISH COLONIALISM BUT OTHERS JUST WANT TO MODIFY IT".

17. MACHEL ASKED RHETORICALLY "WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE US IN ALL THIS." HE DIDN'T KNOW. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THE "INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF ZIMBABWE". MACHEL DESCRIBED THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AS HAVING PROPOSED TO SMITH THAT HE "HANG HIMSELF". WHEN HE DIDN'T,

EVERYTHING STOPPED. MACHEL SAID SMITH WAS "FIGHTING COMMUNISM, AS ARE SOME OTHER COUNTRIES."
-NAMIBIA. DISCUSSION CONCENTRATED ON THE QUESTION OF SWAPO PARTICIPATION IN THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE. MACHEL ASKED HOW SWAPO COULD TAKE PART IN THE CONFERENCE WHOSE LEGITIMACY IT DOESN'T RECOGNIZE. HE EMPHASIZED THAT PRIME MINISTER VOSTER MUST DEAL DIRECTLY WITH SWAPO ITSELF, NOT THROUGH THIRD PARTIES. NAMIBIA MUST NOT BE DISMEMBERED IN ITS MOVEMENT TO TOTAL INDEPENDENCE.

18. SOUTH AFRICA. MACHEL REFERRED TO THE MANY POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND "BIG WESTERN POWERS." HE PLUGGED FOR AN ARMS EMBARGO AND DESCRIBED THE "PROBLEM" OF SOUTH AFRICA AS NOT ONE OF APARTHEID BUT OF COLONIALISM WITH THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS AS THE COLONIAL POWER.

19. COMMENT: AS NOTED IN PARA 3, THE DANES ARE OBVIOUSLY UNDECIDED ABOUT HOW TO REACT TO MACHEL WHOSE PERFORMANCE HERE SEEMS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT FROM THAT IN SWEDEN (REF C). IT IS ALSO CURIOUS THAT THE DANES TOLD US THAT NOTHING ABOUT THE SOVIETS OR CUBANS CAME UP IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS-- AND THESE INCLUDED AN ENTIRE DAY'S TRIP INTO THE DANISH HINTERLAND. IT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 COPENH 02591 02 OF 02 031556Z

IS ALUTORY, HOWEVER, THAT PRIME MINISTER JORGENSEN APPARENTLY EMPHASIZED DANISH WORLD VIEWS STRONGLY, EVEN THOUGH MACHEL MAY NOT HAVE BEEN PAYING ATTENTION.
DEAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHMENT, REPORTS, CHIEF OF STATE VISITS, ESTABLISHMENT OF OFFICES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 03-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977COPENH02591
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770154-1218
Format: TEL
From: COPENHAGEN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197705101/aaaadjdu.tel
Line Count: 367
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 07cc5087-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 COPENHAGEN 2098, 77 MAPUTO 426, 77 STOCKHOLM 1832
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2321608
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MACHEL'S VISIT TO DENMARK
TAGS: PFOR, MZ, DA, (MACHEL, SAMORA MOISES)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/07cc5087-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009